April 1957

Fellowship

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NEW PEACE CENTER

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Spring Book Issue *Seven Pages of Reviews*

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FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 23, NUMBER 4 APRIL 1957

Discernment

This department doesn't often use its valuable space for preening, but we did want you to know that in one and the same month we were recognized as a "non-Communist liberal with a record of devotion to civil liberties" (invitation to be an "observer" at the national convention of the Communist Party), and a member of a "small group of people whose good taste and discernment is generally recognized" (letter from Lewis Gruber, president of P. Lorillard Company).

We hardly know which to be more pleased about, though Mr. Gruber's accolade was accompanied by greater material rewards. (He sent us a carton of the new Old Gold Filter Cigarettes, while the Communists contributed only a container of coffee and a bun, half of which was eaten by the Party's legislative chairman.[1]) The whole thing does raise some interesting questions, though.

For example, did Mr. Gruber decide to send us the cigarettes after he learned of the Communist invitation, or did the Communists (whose spies are everywhere) learn that we were on Mr. Gruber's list and invite us for that reason?

And what will Mr. Gruber answer to a Congressman who asks him to explain having sent a gift to a person known to have drunk a cup of coffee at the expense of a noted Communist? (What better

1 Roy Finch, national chairman of the War Resisters League, wondered if we'd be vulnerable to charges of accepting Moscow gold if we drank the coffee, but he succumbed, too. Matter of fact, he didn't even have to share his bun with anybody.

way to smuggle nuclear secrets out of the country than in a brand-new filter-tipped cigarette sent to a person of known good taste and discernment?)

Better watch your step, Gruber!

Technique

We are not of the radical group who disdain to learn anything from the "crass" commercialists of Madison Avenue, and we have been wondering admiringly how to adapt Mr. Gruber's technique to the wider distribution of peace sentiment. Consider anybody's psychological response to the opening sentences of the Gruber letter:

"We are sending a complimentary carton of Old Gold Filter Cigarettes to a small group of people whose good taste and discernment is generally recognized. You will receive your carton under separate cover. . . ."

Nothing crass about *that.* Crassness would have started the letter by notifying the recipient that he had been selected as a person of g. t. and d., etc., to which a good half of the recipients would have responded by demanding to know who in the dickens gave Mr. G. the right to separate *them* from the goats. But when a man writes that he's sending a carton of O.G.F.C.s to a small group, etc., etc., and then adds matter-of-factly that yours will be along in a day or so, who's going to argue with that?

We haven't got too far along with the adaptation yet, but we're thinking along these lines:

"Dear Mr. Gruber:

"We have been making peace up here for some forty years, and have just perfected a new variety, called the Montgomery model, sample days of which we are sending to a small group of people whose concern for peace has long been a byword. Your day will be along in the next mail. . . ."

It's not quite right yet, but there certainly is *something* there.

Bottle

A couple of years ago Federal Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson was suggesting that concrete sewer pipe be laid along the

sides of roads, under three feet of earth, for people to crawl into in case of air raids. The pipe idea never got very far, so now CD has come up with the notion of bottling people for their own protection.

The idea's being circulated in a booklet put out by the National Research Council, which was hired[2] by the Federal Civil Defense Administration to figure out an effective shelter for the suburban family. The shelter would be a "relatively inexpensive"[3] plastic model, shaped like a bottle and buried in the backyard. It would be 12′ 8″ long and 4′ 6″ in diameter, "big enough to provide sleeping accomodations for two adults and two children." The shelter would have a pleasant color and feel, says the booklet, thus "eliminating the psychological problems created by the tomb-like qualities of a concrete shelter." In peacetime it could serve as a children's playhouse or a photographic darkroom.

The idea is appealing, all right. Even a teetotaller would probably be happier in a bottle than a tomb, and of course all kinds of variations could be worked out to appeal to individual needs and tastes. (Baby bottles for children's homes; jars for Masonic orders; whiskey bottles for the Scotch, etc., etc.)

A few wrinkles need to be ironed out, of course. People need not only to sleep but to eat, drink, go to the bathroom, and breathe. Since the word is that they'll have to stay bottled up for several days, this may present difficulties. But the idea's good, all right, all right!

CDCDCDCD

Honest, we try to keep away from Civil Defense, but it's habit-forming. Anyway, Glen Echo, Maryland, had the country's first authorized evacuation of an entire community on February 19. The CD people bundled all 370 residents in Glen Echo into cars and trucks and evacuated them to a moving-picture theatre in Washington, where they saw a private screening of "The Ten Commandments."

For long raids, they're reported to be preparing double features.

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2 Yes, it comes out of taxes.

3 "About $400."

Middle East

Discussions of the Middle East tend to miss the main point when the word "oil" does not appear at least twice in every paragraph. Other factors are involved, but none of them can be dealt with except in relationship to the fact of oil, with all of its strategic and economic implications.

Two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves are in the Middle East. Kuwait alone has more known reserves than the United States and Canada combined, with half of its oil resources being owned by the Gulf Oil Company.

ARAMCO, owned by the Texas Company and Standard Oil interests, exploits the oil in Saudi Arabia; its net profit in 1955 was more than a half billion dollars. ARAMCO pays King Saud—not his country—more than $250 million annually.

The United States already uses more than a third again as much oil as it produces.[4]

All these facts point to a factor of such overwhelming importance that all other considerations of human welfare, nationalism, and war and peace are subordinate to it. America's enormous oil interests, interlocking with the rest of what C. Wright Mills calls the "power élite," will work to stabilize the status quo and to continue a state of no-war. But the status quo means the continuation of many conditions that have become intolerable to the people of the Middle East, and this means pressure in the direction of war.

What it comes down to, here as elsewhere, is that conditions of inequality and injustice are not the foundations for a stable, peaceful world. The near-monopoly of oil by British and American interests is such a condition.

Christmas Island

As March ended, the British government was going ahead with plans for H-bomb "tests" in the Far Pacific in the face of mounting indignation. A pacifist plan to sail a protest ship into the danger zone probably began too late, but points up the vital importance of direct action in all countries to end these murderous experiments.

[4] Data from *Oil and Turmoil*, by Morden Lazarus, published by the Ontario Woodsworth Memorial Foundation. 1956.

. . . letter from Seoul

BY FLOYD SCHMOE

YOON GU GOT UP about 5:30 to go to the bathhouse . . . while the water is still fairly clean . . . and woke me. It is another spring morning with Seoul's particular brand of "smog" . . . a combination of fog, smoke, and dust from the faraway Gobi Desert. It will be a nice day . . . the fog and smoke will blow away and more dust will blow in. This is by far the dirtiest city I have ever lived in. Two days after I wash my hair I can hardly get a comb through it.

A truck has just unloaded rice in the marketplace outside my window. The carriers quarrel and joke, a half dozen fat buyers stand by with sharp-pointed scoops which they automatically jab into every rice straw bag. They often toss the spoonful of rice, the sample, on the ground without looking at it. As soon as the truck leaves, ragged dirty men and women scuttle out from hiding places and pick the grains of rice out of the dust, grain by grain. This is a symptom of the worst phase of reconstruction. . . . I have seen it after each of three different wars on three different continents . . . the festering sore which follows the wounds of war.

It is the second phase of reconstruction, seemingly as inevitable as fever after infection. In the first phase there is some equality in suffering. Everyone is hurt and exhausted. Everyone lives in huts or is crowded into the houses that remain. Food is scarce but controlled. Everyone fights to live. In this second phase inflation has set in and with inflation always black markets and profiteering. The graft and "squeeze" in government is part of the same thing. There is plenty of food and goods, from fancy imported tinned foods to expensive liquors, and from Swiss watches to American Buicks, but only those with money can buy. If you are smart, money can be had, but seldom by honest means.

The black market operators (and almost everyone is more or less involved) get fat, wear western shoes, and build new houses. The refugees and the very poor of the country villages move into the big city where they hope they can at least eat. They open stalls in the market, operate push carts, peddle their wares from house to house, or beg. The young women can find paying customers if they want to—or have to—go into business for themselves. The more successful wear silk and live in houses or "hotels," the less fortunate are filthy, walk the streets and live in tents and huts.

The streets are full of boys, and a few girls, selling papers, shining shoes, and doubling as pickpockets, but definitely of a higher class and cleaner than the beggars who are also pickpockets and thieves. Clean is a relative term. I would say from casual observation that not one out of a thousand of Seoul's million and a half people has access to a private bath. One out of a hundred may get to a public bath house, and the other 98 percent seldom see soap and water. I am sure there are thousands here who have not had a bath since the war. Cleanliness may be next to Godliness but here it is really next to impossible. Hot water and soap can be had, but they are two of the most expensive things in Korea. I don't blame the people . . . I can't keep clean myself.

The first need of a rich man seems to be to appear rich. More women wear silk on the streets here than in any city in the world . . . and more wear rags than in most cities. A suit of western clothes costs almost as much as a television set, relatively as much as an automobile, but thousands of men here dress better than I do at my best. People who live in hotels wear white shirts and ties. People who live in new houses drive Buicks, or at least jeeps. People who live in caves and shacks are moving into tents and better shacks but this is because of a small amount of city help with building materials and a large amount of police pressure. In some areas, a week after issuing orders to move, the police took bulldozers into "hakabon" areas and pushed the mud and straw huts into heaps of rubbish, leaving the people with nothing except what they had on. In general the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer. It always happens after war.

This is the most difficult time to help people. People who don't need help will scrabble hardest for it, then sell the food or clothing they get on the black market. There are literally *hundreds of tons* of American food on the open markets here all of which is labeled "Gift of the American people. Not to be sold or exchanged"—and at twice the price it would cost at home. The really needy people are hard to reach. They are not organized and not aggressive. Most of them are too weak and discouraged to be aggressive. But even they, when they have the opportunity, will take all they can get and waste or sell what they cannot eat or wear at the moment. Only people who have plenty will horde for the future. Almost the only way to give aid intelligently at this stage is through well-organized institutions, hospi-

tals, orphanages, and established widows' and old peoples' homes. The Korean churches are not a good means of distributing aid . . . even houses . . . for only the baptized share in the bounty.

I have been asked what Korea needs most. I think it is some sense of social responsibility. As in all Asian countries the family is the social unit and the limit of social responsibility for most people. Korea has more Christian churches than any other Far Eastern country, having had the greatest spiritual vacuum at the time when American missionary zeal burned hottest, so in Korea there is some social responsibility felt for "Christians." "Christian" is a profitable label. The Korean Christian takes every opportunity to display the label. He brands a cross above his name on his doorpost. He carries a bible on Sunday. He puts his label on his calling card, and whenever he enters your house he bows his head in a moment of prayer. This might be very impressive if in his very next breath he did not start telling you polite lies. We have seven carpenters working at the moment, most of whom are "Christians." Two are preachers on the side. Each of them without exception, when I hired him and asked his wage, said, "Well, the usual wage for a top carpenter is 2000 Hwan, but since you are doing good work for our people I will work for 1500 Hwan." Not one of them ever got 2000 Hwan per day as a carpenter and I do not know anyone who does. A laborer gets only 700 Hwan (H 500=$1.00).

We are building houses for two church groups. There is not a chance that any house I build for a church group will go to a non-churchmember neighbor who happens to need a house worse than a churchmember.

The American missionaries here, in many cases, are equally at fault in this matter. I have never seen the

results of mixing rice and religion stand out more glaringly.

Korea also, as with most countries who are not already highly nationalistic, is developing rabid nationalism. In theory, and in words at least, social responsibility is spreading to include the nation . . . but only south of the Thirty-eighth parallel.

What Korea needs, and what we all need, is a sense of real social responsibility . . . a responsibility for "the community of all peoples everywhere," regardless of brand or label. If we take on some of the problems of others, our own problems not only appear smaller, they become smaller; and I think it is possible (although I have not yet reached that stage) to be so concerned for the needs of other people that one loses awareness of any need for oneself.

That would be a good society.

About the Author

Since 1919, when he went to Europe on an American Friends Service Committee relief project, **Floyd Schmoe** has been an active builder of peace. A former FOR field worker, he is now director of Houses for Korea, Inc.

THE COST OF CONSCIENCE

THE CURRENT special issue of *The War Resister,* quarterly publication of the War Resisters' International, includes seven pages of schematized information showing the pattern of military conscription in virtually all the countries of the world. Among the facts to be gleaned from these seven pages of analyses are these:

• One dozen countries have conscription of women. They are Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Honduras, Israel, Iran, Poland, Romania, Syria and the USSR. In Bulgaria and Chile, women are not subject to peacetime conscription.

• Thirty-four countries are definitely known to have no legal provisions for conscientious objectors. Twenty-nine others have not supplied any information about this. The first country to have conscription was France, which to this date has no provisions for COs and metes out repeated prison sentences to COs. In Greece, however, COs have been shot, and in Yugoslavia they are sentenced to twelve years in mines.

• Twenty-one countries have no conscription at all. In Burma and Japan the Constitution renounces war, and in Eire there is an official policy of neutrality. In Costa Rica, the armed forces were abolished by law on November 7, 1949.

• In most countries having provisions for COs, the term of alternative service is slightly longer than the term of military service. In Great Britain, Israel, New Zealand, the United States and West Germany the term is of equal length. In Israel, however, only women are eligible for alternative service on religious and moral grounds; men are sent to prison for two years and/or fined £600. The only persons given automatic exemption are married women and Arabs. Poland is the only country providing a term of alternative service shorter than military service. The catch, however, is that the Polish CO must submit proof that he (or she) works in a coal mine. Then, in lieu of 26 months in the army, he (or she) must work 20 months in a coal mine.

• Of the sixteen countries which have military service but recognize COs, only six stipulate a religious motivation. In Paraguay, only Mennonites are recognized as COs. Israel, the Netherlands, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Union of South Africa, and the United States are the other five.

• The United States, of all countries having CO provisions, has the stiffest penalties for nonregistrants —up to 5 years in prison and/or $10,000 fine. Great Britain is second, with 2 years and/or £100. Residents of Northern Ireland and the Channel Islands, however, are not subject to British conscription laws.

• In Cuba, Ecuador and Nicaragua, conscription is mandatory by

law, and there is no provision for COs. However, there have been no CO cases, since the law is not enforced. In Chile, deferment is by drawing lots.

• In Bolivia, boys and girls become liable for military training at the age of 14 in wartime.

• In Sweden, the Netherlands and Norway, men may be conscripted for Civil Defense without the right of conscientious objection.

• The only countries allowing for total and unconditional exemption of certain types of COs are Australia, Great Britain, Israel (women only), New Zealand, Paraguay, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Union of South Africa, and the United States. In Austria, the only possibility for a CO is a year of noncombatant military service (non-COs serve only nine months).

Pacifists everywhere are indebted to the WRI for compiling this information, otherwise unobtainable in such compact form. Those who want the complete tabulation should obtain *The War Resister* No. 74 from the War Resisters' League, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38, N. Y.

Morale and Morality

"Families and churches and schools adapt to modern life; governments and armies and corporations shape it; and, as they do so, they turn these lesser institutions into means for their ends. Religious institutions provide chaplains for the armed forces where they are used as a means of increasing the effectiveness of its morale to kill. Schools select and train men for their jobs in corporations and their specialized tasks in the armed forces. . . .

"If the centralized state could not rely upon the inculcation of nationalist loyalties in public and private schools, its leaders would promptly seek to modify the decentralized educational system. . . . If members of armies gave to them no more of their lives than do believers to the churches to which they belong, there would be a military crisis."

—C. Wright Mills, in
The Power Elite*

"From the preaching of Dr. [Martin Luther] King, the Negroes have learned in the past year the hardest of Christ's truths—how to love, how not to judge, how not to hate—and found these precisely through their refusal to strike back when white men spat in their faces, slapped them across the mouth, hurled dynamite at their homes and churches.

"Clearly—and this is probably the most stirring experience for the visitor to Montgomery—the Negroes' day-by-day acceptance and practice of Christ's principles, applied to the struggle against Jim Crow, have brought them a calm that seems unshakable, a humility that is formidable, a love that shatters hate and prejudice. The combination can only mean the ultimate—and not so distant—defeat of the segregationist cause."

—George Barrett, in
"Jim Crow, He's Real Tired"
New York Times Magazine,
March 3, 1957

* New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

PACIFISM FOR CHILDREN

BY
HAROLD
LOUKES

HOW SHOULD pacifists bring up their children? Are they to give them guns to play with, and "horror comics" to read, in the hope that they will "get it out of their system"? Are they to encourage them to hit back when they are attacked, or are they to teach them to turn the other cheek? What can parents do to help their children to grow up strong and secure, and yet ready to stand out against the common acceptance of war?

Why Are We Pacifists?

These questions cannot be answered until we have answered some deeper questions. What is the basis of our pacifism? Do we regard war as the supreme evil, and the root of our other evils? Or do we regard war as a symptom—today the most dangerous symptom—of a deeper evil in the soul of man? If we take the second view—as I do—then our prime duty to our children is to nurture in them the spirit that "takes away the occasion of all wars." How is this to be done?

We have today become aware of the extent of a child's need to be welcomed into the world in his own right. He needs to be loved and accepted as much as he needs to be fed and clothed. This loving acceptance is his first vision of God: Fatherhood is first seen in the love of parents. If there is no love from parents, the vision of God is hard to come by. As a boy in an approved school put it, "If God is like my father, then I don't want him."

We do not love our children unless we love them in their childishness: it is not love that regards them only for what they may become, and rejects what they are

Reprinted from *Reconciliation*, December 1956

now. Many impulses are natural to children which would quite rightly be rejected in an adult—greed and self-centeredness, fear and dependence, and passionate waves of anger. We know we want our children to "grow out of" all this. If we try to hurry them up, to make them grow up before their time, we may succeed—if we are firm enough—but at the cost of making them feel guilty and ashamed of themselves, uncertain and insecure, and, in the end, doubtful about their acceptance in our hearts. If we try to impose a moral standard that does not chime with their deepest feelings, before the age when they can begin to reason or generalize about human relationships, we shall divide them in two: their love and dependence on us working one way, their spontaneous impulses another. If, in addition, they find that our moral standard is not accepted by other children or other parents, so that they feel themselves strangers among their own generation, the conflict will go deeper still.

Freedom Is Not Enough

Are we then to let them grow up as they please? Is there nothing to be done? Pacifist parents have sometimes felt that this was the answer, and have established a children's republic in the home, with themselves as onlookers. But this sets up conflict, too, for the small child is not equipped to run a home. He has neither the experience nor the intelligence nor the emotional stability to make his parents' decisions for them: he needs to have most of his own decisions made for him. If he is always making decisions he is soon worn out.

What is the answer? The "gun and comics" issue is easily settled: there is no evidence that they matter much one way or the other. The only evidence against even the American "horror comics" (and they are infinitely more violent than anything we see in England) is that they give form and point to propensities already disturbed by neurosis. The healthy child is reasonably safe even against these. On the other hand there is no evidence that they are necessary for healthy growth. Children can do without them and still grow out of their childish violence. But if our children's friends play soldiers, and our children want to join in; or if their friends read comics, and they want to read them too, then we do no good, and perhaps harm, if we get anxious and forbid them. To forbid is to reject, and we can reject only what we know to be harmful.

Retaliation

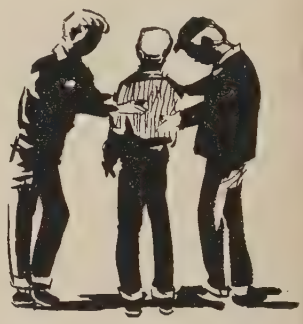
The "hitting back" problem is not so easy. Children do not like a rough-and-tumble atmosphere: they prefer order and security, and they grow best without fear and uncertainty. We owe it to them to provide a tender watchfulness, such a measure of supervision as will protect them from violent scenes. But if a child is chased home from school, we do him wrong if we force upon him a standard he cannot understand, and

plainly does not work—which is, indeed, a positive encouragement to violence. We can do what we may to help—a visit to the other child's parents, a firm but friendly word with the child himself; but in the end, we cannot leave our own child with the feeling that there is something "different" about him: knowing he could settle the matter in his own strength, as other children do, yet he is not allowed to, because there is something odd about his parents.

This attitude is very different from the simple encouragement to retaliate: we make plain to the child that we are behind him, and that he has our strength to fall back on; we make it plain that we are for justice and order and against bullying and disorder; and we offer him the ideal of restraint and the opportunity to discover his own strength and be sure of it before he reaches the age when he can begin to consider how strength should be applied.

Atmosphere

Some may feel that this is all rather negative, and brings no guarantee that our children will grow up as we want them to. There is no such guarantee; and if there were, it would be a pity, because God may have better plans for them than we have. What we can be sure is that if we love them aright, they will as small children breathe, as it were, through our breath: as the embryo lives in the bloodstream of the mother, so do our children live in the mental and spiritual life that we live in. This happens whether we like it or not, whether we instruct them or not: the ideals by which we sincerely live are their ideals for a time, without their knowing why. One day the cord must be cut: but we can be certain that the life they live on their own will always be affected by the life they shared with us. It is a sobering thought, that our children are thus deeply marked by our deficiencies, but it is a comforting thought that they are equally deeply and silently marked by our faith.



THEY CAN AFFORD IT

by Franklin Zahn

SHORTLY AFTER walking out of a Civilian Public Service camp during World War II I went to see a young lawyer to discuss a defense based on the illegal military direction of Public Service. While waiting in his office I had a good discussion with his father and partner. He asked questions in what must have been a most mild and thoughtful manner compared to some of the cross-examining sequences of his past career as one of the state's most colorful prosecuting attorneys. I remember his first question.

"If everyone was an objector, wouldn't the Nazis overrun our country?"

I began by saying I was primarily a religious objector, and I tried to explain my position by making an analogy of my principles with the principle of truth. There are two classes of people who believe in truth, I said. The first believes "honesty is the best policy," that is, truthfulness pays off. They tell you, for example, that the old ultra-honest Quaker banks in England became some of her most successful financial institutions. But the second class is more cynical, says that often as not the crooks make more money, and maintains that he who would always be honest must forget results and act on principles alone. As a CO, I explained, I felt reasonably sure the Nazis would not invade the country but that primarily the principle of brotherly love had to be practiced, because, like truth, it was right in and of itself.

This analogy was the first that popped into my head, but it was probably a good one in the situation. The former DA must often have given thought to how far he might stretch truth to win a case, have pondered whether his first loyalty was to the state—his employer—or to professional ethics and principles. Perhaps he was tempted to join a third class which also believes in truth. We did not discuss this class, but in effect this group worships at the shrine of the Goddess of Truth, recites its vows, pays financial tributes and then, conscience salved, proceeds to live as it says "realistically." It may even rob the proverbial grandmother's grave to obtain the tribute! In this third class many of us are, if not life members, all too often up in our dues.

These analogies have since helped me to see that pacifists may not know what is right more than others, but they are those who feel they can so afford to act. The business man today is surrounded by examples of cheating—in government, commerce, labor, athletics—and is frequently warned by the majority of his fellows: "You can't afford to be perfect. You'll go broke." But he may be one who can reply: "I'll take the chance. I can afford it." Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego chose the furnace instead of false gods, saying their God was able to save them, but that *"even if not"* they would still remain true. They knew they could afford it.

LETTER TO A TAX COLLECTOR

Menlo Park, Calif.
July 28, 1956

District Director
Internal Revenue Service
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir:

We are returning herewith the bill you recently sent us for our unpaid 1955 Federal income taxes, noting the additional interest charged. Any penalty which you invoke does not alter our conscientious refusal to pay willingly the taxes which provide upwards of 40 billion dollars a year for military purposes, for nuclear weapons of genocidal and suicidal proportions.

We accept as morally correct and legally binding the rules of law supported by the United States at the Nürnberg War Crimes Trials, which held that individual human beings are responsible for their acts, and that they should therefore refuse to cooperate with any regulation or law which would make them accomplices in acts of genocide and/or its preparation.

According to newspaper reports in April, if correctly quoted, you declared that it was none of your business how the tax money was spent, your job was simply to collect it. Can you, personally, in good conscience, say that you share no responsibility for how our tax money is spent?

On June 28, Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin told Congress that the "current planning estimates" of the United States Strategic Air Command call for a counter-attack, in the "ultimate emergency," which would

Annually, in the face of stiff penalties and an inability to get very far, a handful of pacifists go on prodding the consciences of tax collectors and their fellow pacifists by their refusal to pay taxes toward the "budget of death" that makes up so much of the nation's expenses. Here is the letter one couple sent last year to explain why. . . .

cause "on the order of several hundred million deaths" including vast numbers of free Asians or Western Europeans depending upon the caprice of the winds!

If you have felt no responsibility in the past, then surely now the time has come for you to be responsible. It is evident to us as a result of the widespread response, in the form of visits, letters, and telephone calls, following the reports of our refusal to pay our income taxes, that there are a great many people who share our concern not to acquiesce in genocide and suicide. Such silent people must speak. If we want constructive changes, more of us will have to recognize our personal share in the guilt of collective irresponsibility and drift. If we expect our institutions alone to save us, we will die in despair, for they are no more courageous than the people who compose them; they are captives of present fears and perplexities.

For example, recently in a speech to the San Mateo County Manufacturers' Association, Stanley Hiller, Jr., President of Hiller Helicopters, stated that the airplane industry is a "captive." "Trends of development," he said, "are dictated solely by military procurement, for, in fact, the great U.S. aviation industry exists solely because of military procurement."

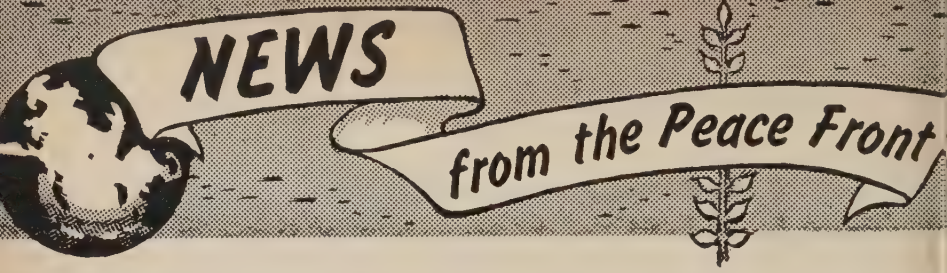
Again, only a week ago a newspaper article described one of the projects now being carried on by the Stanford Research Institute. This is a major study with electronic devices designed to predetermine the number of survivors in the event of a nuclear attack on the United States, which resources might be left intact, etc., so that any survivors might be rallied for a purpose that is not clear to us, presumably to retaliate and wreak similar devastation on "the enemy."

Here we have examples of major institutions spending resources, brainpower, and time trying to devise ways of sweeping up the debris *after* the catastrophe. But where, we ask, is there even one comparable assemblage of manpower, brainpower, and equipment for the purpose of finding new and constructive methods to *prevent* the catastrophe?

It is our hope that you, as well as the many people who share our desire for a humanly supportable program of taxation and government, will alike see and act on your responsibilities as human beings, as well as your secondary roles as tax collectors, guided missile constructors, scientists, or Sunday School teachers. Now, not later, is the time for men to refuse to be silent acquiescers in a process which ultimately promises to make them both victims and executioners.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. & Mrs. Roy C. Kepler



Launch New Move to Aid Bombing Victims

Formation of a "Committe to Aid the Bombed Christians of the South" was approved by the FOR Executive Committee at its meeting in New York on March 4. The proposal had been brought in by the staff.

Prominent church leaders will be asked to constitute the committee, whose appeal will go to Christians of all denominations. Funds are needed to help rebuild churches and the homes of ministers destroyed or badly damaged by bombings in Montgomery and Birmingham, Alabama; to support the hard-pressed pacifist and interracial Koinonia Community in Americus, Georgia; and to help a Negro Presbyterian church from which denominational support has been withdrawn because of its minister's leadership in the Tallahassee, Florida, nonviolent demonstration against bus segregation. The committee will be authorized also to direct aid to other situations of need that may arise.

As FELLOWSHIP went to press, these eminent churchmen had agreed to sponsor the committee: Dr. George A. Buttrick, Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr., Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Dr. Elmer A. Fridell, Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence, Prof. John Oliver Nelson, and Prof. Paul Scherer.

The Executive Committee noted its regret that the white Christian churches of the South had not taken the lead in such a move. While individual white Christians and churches in both North and South have sent expressions of sympathy and material aid, the total received has been far short of the need.

In other actions the Executive Committee heard reports on various projects, approved participation in the production of a jointly sponsored motion picture on the work of COs, and voted to approve the temporary employment of a part-time field worker in the northwest.

A proposal by last year's National Conference that the Fellowship invest funds in cooperative enterprises was discussed. No action was taken for the uncomplicated reason that the FOR has no substantial funds to invest.

John Swomley reported on his month-long field trip to the West Coast, including a 90-minute interview with Senator Nelson Dilworth, chairman of the California legislative committee charged by the FOR with distorting and misstating facts about the organization.

A. J. Muste announced a retreat-conference of the Church Peace Mission, scheduled for June 25-28 at Seabury House, in Greenwich, Connecticut, to examine anew the nature of the Christian pacifist message in the present situation.

Steere to Speak At FOR Dedication

Professor Douglas V. Steere, noted Quaker pacifist and chairman of the American committee of the International FOR, will be the principal speaker at the dedication service for the FOR's new peace center in Nyack, New York, April 26. National chairman Charles Lawrence will preside, and other noted personalities of the pacifist movement will participate.

The dedication service will climax the meetings of the National Council, which will be held at Nyack during the two preceding days. An "open house" is scheduled for the following afternoon and evening, Saturday, April 27.

Much of the work of preparation of the peace center is expected to have been done by a work camp of the International Voluntary Services for Peace, which will be at Nyack from March 30 through April 8.

Abernathy Speaks At FOR Peace Center

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama, and a leader in the city, state and regional nonviolent integration movement, was scheduled to speak on March 31 at the new FOR headquarters in Nyack, N. Y. Mr. Abernathy made his first public appearance in a major Northern city on March 1, when he spoke at the Berea Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia on "Nonviolence and the Struggle for Equality and Justice," as a guest of the American Friends Service Committee. Proceeds of collections taken at all meetings at which Mr. Abernathy speaks will go into the Reconstruction Fund of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., to help rebuild damaged and destroyed churches and homes in the Negro community there—among them his own church and parsonage.

Smiley On Ten-Day Southern Tour

Last month FOR National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley went on a ten-day tour of the ramparts of nonviolence in the South, from Virginia to Florida. He made one-day stops at Harrisonburg, Va.; Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.; and the much-harrassed interracial community of Koinonia at Americus, Ga.

High spots of Smiley's tour were a weekend in Birmingham, where he spoke before meetings of the Alabama Christian Council on Human Rights and conferred with its president, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth; and a four-day stint in Tallahassee, Fla., as a guest of the Inter-Civic Council.

In Tallahassee, the second Southern city in which nonviolent techniques have been used to defeat bus segregation, a further Conference is slated for May. Last month Smiley, together with FOR Mid-South Secretary Robert L. Cannon, conferred with the Rev. C. K. Steele, ICC president, and other local leaders to plan the May Conference. Other highlights of Smiley's stay in Tallahassee included a showing of *Walk to Freedom* and *The Toymaker;* a meeting with the Interdenominational Alliance, a citywide organization of Negro ministers; a seminar on Community Leadership and Education,

with participation by local businessmen and faculty members of Florida A&M University; and a regular mass meeting.

FOR Member Jailed For Anti-Bias Query

The Rev. Ashton Jones, 61-year-old FOR member of Atlanta, was jailed last month when he talked out of turn at a White Citizens Council meeting in Miami, Fla. Jones protested when a WCC orator called Booker T. Washington the only Negro who ever amounted to anything, and added that this was because Washington had been raised by a white man. Sitting in the audience, Jones interjected: "What about Ralph Bunche?"

Jones was quickly seized by police, ejected from the meeting and charged with disorderly conduct, trespassing and refusing to leave the scene of the white supremacist meeting. The incident occurred on March 1. On March 4, Jones was given a 36-day suspended sentence in Municipal Court.

41 New Orleans Clerics Ask End of Bus Bias

On February 21, forty-one Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen and 84 laymen petitioned the New Orleans Public Service Company to start a "positive program" to end jim crow seating on buses and streetcars.

"To ignore or attempt to circumvent what must come would give strength to lawlessness and make the eventual outcome far from peaceful," the petition said.

The churchmen, most of them white, urged local authorities "not to wait for court order" before taking steps toward desegregation. Streetcar company officials, however, told three Protestant ministers and a Roman Catholic priest who presented the petition that they must await final action in review proceedings now before the U.S. Supreme Court in cases involving segregation.

"Walk to Freedom" Sales, Rentals Booming

Sales and rentals of Fellowship Films' *Walk to Freedom*, the 17-minute film about nonviolent integration, were reported last month at an all-time high. Each regional FOR secretary now has at least one print of it, six prints have been purchased by a large labor union and fourteen more prints have been sold to other groups and individuals. Eleven prints, in addition, are in circulation for rental from Fellowship Films.

The continuing excellent response to *Walk to Freedom* is well illustrated in a comment by Robert L. Cannon, Mid-South Regional Secretary of the FOR, who has shown the film in many Southern localities: "Here in the South I have had difficulty keeping up with the engagements. . . . For me this film has become an indispensable item in my traveling bag."

The film, which has been shown repeatedly in such centers of the nonviolent integration movement as Montgomery, Tallahassee and elsewhere, is expected to be in demand for some time to come. A "pay-as-you-show" purchase plan has been devised to facilitate the manufacture and distribution of more prints.

White Dixie Bias Foe Fined For Fleeing Mob

Lamar Weaver, white Birmingham steelworker, was fined $25 last month for "reckless driving" when he sped his car to escape from an angry mob.

Weaver, an outspoken foe of racism, had been sitting with the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth and his wife in the "interstate and white passengers" waiting room of the Birmingham railroad terminal. The Shuttlesworths were there in defiance of an illegal city ban against the use of this waiting room by Negro interstate passengers.

When Weaver left, a crowd of angry white men followed him to his car, cursing, striking and threatening him. Weaver testified in Recorder's Court: "I left accelerating my speed because a mob of about fifty persons was attempting to either kill me or cause bodily harm."

Mr. and Mrs. Shuttlesworth were protected from harm by the intervention of the police, who had been notified in advance of their plans. Mr. Shuttlesworth is president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and the leader of Birmingham's movement for nonviolent integration.

Niebuhr, Blake, Others Appeal to Ike on Bias

Last month six eminent churchmen urged President Eisenhower to exert "stronger leadership" in quelling anti-Negro activities in the South. "The emergence of violence and hate," they said, in a statement published in the Roman Catholic *Interracial Review,* "is a problem that concerns the entire nation."

The statement expressed admiration for the "courage and truly Christian spirit" of Negro and white clergymen and laity "working for peace and better understanding in the troubled areas of the South." Referring to Vice President Nixon's visit to Ghana, the statement said: "It would be unfortunate if the impression was conveyed to this Negro nation . . . that our government was indifferent to the situation of its own Negro citizens."

Signers of the statement were: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches; Protestant Episcopal Bishop Angus Dun of Washington, D. C.; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, vice-president of Union Theological Seminary; the Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., associate editor of *America,* the Jesuit weekly; Dr. Liston Pope, dean of the Yale Divinity School; and Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, New York.

FOR Member Quits Lily-White Frat

Prof. Mario G. Salvadori, FOR member and member of the faculty of Columbia University's department of civil engineering, resigned in February from Theta Tau, the professional engineering fraternity, because it bars Negroes from membership.

Prof. Salvadori was joined in this action by Wesley J. Hennessey, associate dean of the engineering faculty. The two men stated that they had been uneasy about the racial ban when they joined Theta Tau, but had become members in the hope of erasing it. Their resig-

nations followed the fraternity's national convention in December, which voted to defer the issue until 1958.

"To maintain such a clause," the Columbia men said, ". . . in the year 1957 is morally unacceptable."

Supreme Court Bars Ayers Draft Appeal

On February 26 the Supreme Court refused to review the decision of lower courts to bar Joe M. Ayers from CO status. Ayers, a former ministerial student at Pasadena College, had run afoul of his draft board when he transferred to Long Beach State College and gave up his eligibility for ministerial deferment.

The draft board reclassified Ayers as 1-A and ordered him to report for induction. Ayers, who said he was willing to fight "but not with the weapons of this world," refused to report and was subsequently tried and convicted of violating the Selective Service Act.

Woodcrest Bruderhof Hard Hit By Fire

In February the communitarian Society of Brothers at Woodcrest, Rifton, New York, was severely hit by a fire that destroyed one of the main buildings. The kitchen, dining room, library, offices and dispensary were located in the building. Stores of food, clothing and equipment were consumed by the flames.

Like other Bruderhoefe, the Woodcrest co-op seeks to demonstrate by deeds the value of a social life based on love rather than coercion. Those who share the Bruderhof's concern have been responding with much-needed aid, and, as FELLOWSHIP went to press, construction of the new building had already begun. The group is particularly concerned to reestablish its list of customers for its wood products, which was also lost in the fire.

Africa Committee to Act In Treason Trials Defense

The American Committee on Africa announced last month the formation of a South Africa Defense Committee in response to the arrest in December of 156 persons on charges of treason, including Prof. Z. K. Matthews and other opponents of the rabidly racist Strijdom government.

The Defense Committee, which was formed to solicit funds for legal services and other expenses connected with the treason trials, as well as to gather moral support for the defendants, includes such distinguished FOR members as Harry Emerson Fosdick, Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence, John Howland Lathrop, Walter G. Muelder, John Oliver Nelson and Howard Thurman. Among other members of the committee are Reinhold Niebuhr, Benjamin E. Mays, Robert J. McCracken, Ralph W. Sockman, John A. McKay, Archibald MacLeish, Karl Menninger, Eleanor Roosevelt and Norman Thomas. Dean James A. Pike, of the New York Cathedral, is chairman.

George Houser, a member of the FOR National Council, is Executive Secretary of the sponsoring group, with offices at 4 West 40 Street, New York 36, N. Y.

Lutheran Official Decries "Armed Forces" Religion

The Rev. Engebret O. Midboe, secretary of the Bureau of Service to Military Personnel of the National Lutheran Council has charged that U.S. military chaplains are in danger of developing an "armed forces" religion bearing little resemblance to the doctrines of the Churches from which they come.

Some chaplains, said Midboe, are asked such questions as "Why don't you preach Navy religion?" —"Where did you find this as part of the Army religion?"—"Has the Air Force taught you to preach this type of doctrine?"

Chaplains who deviate from the "fairly well-defined worship service format" of the armed forces, said Midboe, run the risk of "administrative consequences" and general censure.

Pacifist ministers who believe they might be able to bring their witness to the military by serving as chaplains will have much to consider in the implications of these remarks.

Clinton Pastor Honored By JCC and Ministers

In February, the Rev. Paul Turner of First Baptist Church, Clinton, Tennessee, was awarded the Clinton Junior Chamber of Commerce distinguished service award for 1956. The young white clergyman was cited for his "inspiring example" of courage, leadership and love for his fellow man as shown by his conduct during the period of unrest last fall when Clinton High School was integrated.

Turner was beaten up in December after he escorted six Negro children to the newly integrated school.

Also last month, the Knoxville Ministerial Assn. unanimously passed a resolution commending Turner and deploring the "violent action of those who seek to circumvent and defy the federal laws of our country."

Catholic Interracialists Plan National Conference

Five of the largest local Catholic Interracial Councils have announced plans for the first large-scale nationwide Roman Catholic conference on race relations to be held in August.

Throughout the United States since the movement began in 1934, 29 separate regional organizations have grown up. There are at this time no Catholic Interracial Councils in the South, although the Catholic Committee of the South, an area-wide social action group, maintains a human relations committee.

NCC Race Message By Martin Luther King

On Race Relations Sunday this year (February 10), millions of Americans heard a call for action to "banish segregation from every area of American life." The call, which was the salient feature of the annual message on race relations issued by the National Council of Churches, was read from pulpits throughout the country. This year's message was drafted by the Rev. Martin Luther King and titled "For All—A Non-Segregated Society."

Decisive Figure

Luther, by Rudolf Thiel. Translated by Gustav K. Wiencke. Muhlenberg Press. 1955. $5.00.

There has been a curious and healthy renaissance of interest in Luther in recent years. A number of excellent studies, best known among them perhaps Roland Bainton's *Here I Stand,* have shed new light upon this most decisive figure at a junction of history known as the Reformation, and have given a fresh insight into the life and work of this often misunderstood man.

In many respects this volume by Rudolf Thiel is the most satisfying of the lot. It is more than a portrait one meets here; it is shocking impact with a person laid bare in all the strange complexity of his nature, heroic strength and temperamental weakness, glowing faith and soul-shaking doubt, angry rebel and gentle teacher, tempestuous and temperate, cruel invective and gracious speech, a lilting joyousness sicklied o'er with "Anfechtung," that nameless tribulation of the spirit which Georgia Harkness has called "The Dark Night of the Soul." This is the Luther that one meets in person on almost every page, and one *feels* rather than *sees* the many-faceted and passionate and enigmatic nature which drove the man at once to such high ground of faith and to such bitter depths of despair.

But one is not only caught up into the turbulent life of the man but into the turbulent life of his times. The 16th century was a kind of watershed of history. The choice seemed to lie between abject submission to the medieval pattern on one hand or unbridled revolt in the name of a new freedom on the other. Luther was sure that in "his beloved Word of God" he had found the only authority which could at last issue in freedom and on that Word he stood "like a rock in the ebb and flow of becoming and passing away." His whole insistence was upon letting "The Word work for itself," and until the bitter last years of his life he pled with secular and spiritual authorities alike, nobility and peasant, to renounce force in favor of ideas.

But here it was at last that Luther's intemperate spirit caught up with him, involving him in inconsistency which alienated many of his followers and has been a large stumbling block to understanding of the man to this present time. Thiel unfolds the conflict with the utmost candor, showing how Luther's implacable hatred of Papist authority, which he believed was always usurping the authority of Scripture, led him into the unfortunate error of substituting, as it were, submission to worldly rulers. And so almost before he realized it the house that was swept and garnished was occupied by

other devils. When at last the full fury of the Peasant Revolt was unleashed and there was no longer any point in appealing to reason or to Scripture, then it was that Luther threw in his lot with the nobility as the Power ordained of God to restore order and sanity to his beloved nation. It was a horrible and heartbreaking time. "From then on the reputation of the doctor was finished. This deed could not be forgiven by any who had believed in the freedom of a Christian man, and had seen in him the hero of a new, better mankind."

Perhaps this is the large reason why it seems so fantastic to many to claim that the modern era, with its new demands for intellectual and spiritual freedom, should begin with the religious experience of Martin Luther. And yet when we fully realize that "the most ominous sign of our spiritual disintegration today is the intellectual flexibility which enables men to submit without any great inward struggle to officially endorsed points of view," thereby subtly enmeshing them in a new servitude, perhaps we will be ready to return to the real heart of the Reformation, the unconditional Authority of Christ. Martin Luther did guide the spiritual plough of a new age, and anyone who wishes to walk in its main furrows will find himself moving into the richer promise of our Reformation heritage.

—Robert F. Weiskotten

the time is now!

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Psychic Violence

The Rape of the Mind: The Psychology of Thought Control, Menticide, and Brainwashing. By Joost A. M. Meerloo, M.D. World, 1956. 320 pp. $5.00.

Psychological procedures, as Dr. Meerloo sees them, both furnish weapons for the most vicious and destructive forces and also yield knowledge and treatment techniques which can defend us against such forces and help us in self-realization. He believes that "modern techniques of brainwashing and menticide—those perversions of psychology—can bring almost any man into submission and surrender." He also contends that psychological knowledge and treatment, adequately developed and made available, "may in themselves generate the democratic attitude; for psychology is essentially the science of the *juste milieu*, of free choice within the framework of man's personal and social limitations."

Dr. Meerloo is a psychiatrist who has seen modern warfare's refined psychological techniques at first hand both as victim and as physician. After two and one-half years in Nazi-occupied Holland, where he observed Nazi methods of mental manipulation, he escaped from a Nazi prison to England to become chief of the psychological department of the Netherlands armed forces. Later, as High Commissioner for Welfare, he had additional opportunities to study brainwashing and thought control.

Throughout his experiences, as a

thoughtful man devoted to healing the sick and hurt, Dr. Meerloo apparently found himself impelled to place his observations of manipulated individual brains in the broader contexts of social history, moral wisdom, and the implications of individual techniques for the thought control of large populations. I gather that the further he went in studying individuals the more sickened and disgusted he became with the new depths of man's potential inhumanity to man and with the destruction of human values in modern warfare. In looking at the broader aspects, he came to conclude that the "good will that people invest in their leaders, doctors, and administrators is tremendous and can be used as a weapon against them. . . . Psychology itself may tend to standardize the mind. . . . It is easier to manipulate the minds of others than to avoid doing so."

Dr. Meerloo shows how the "only safe conduct pass for the citizen of Totalitaria" becomes the "complete abdication of his mental integrity," and then he turns to the trends toward such mass manipulation on the American scene. He shows how advertisers stimulate "the neurotic greed of the public" and thus make people into "opinionated robots." He also contends that the advocates of loyalty oaths "are substituting the social and national responsibility for an individual one." Dr. Meerloo shows repeatedly that it is only the relatively autonomous individual, with "a profound education in mental freedom and democratic awareness," who is thus adequately equipped with a "countertoxic" to withstand either mass thought control or individual brainwashing. Those who have surrendered their autonomy to others, those who accept rather than analyze orthodox propaganda, are the easiest victims of manipulation either in peace or in war.

It is curious to place this book alongside the recent one by an assistant managing editor of *Fortune* magazine. I refer to *The Organization Man* by William H. Whyte, Jr. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956; 429 pp.; $5.00). From a study of the conflict of the Protestant ethic and of the organization ethic in all sorts of American organizations, including our colleges and universities, Whyte similarly places his faith and America's need upon the development of persons trained in "mental freedom and democratic awareness," in Meerloo's words.

As Whyte puts it, modern man, caught up in work in organizations, "must *fight* The Organization. Not stupidly, or selfishly, for the defects of individual self-regard are no more to be venerated than the defects of co-operation. But fight he must, for the demands of his surrender are constant and powerful, and the more he has come to like the life of organization the more difficult does he find it to resist these demands, or even to recognize them. . . . Ideology cannot wish it away; the peace of mind offered by organization remains a surrender to dull and uncreative conformity, and no less so for being offered in benevolence."

Let us hope that such careful and thoughtful books as Meerloo's and Whyte's are new beginnings of a resurgence of interest in the integrity and usefulness of the autonomous individual in a society which owes so much to mental freedom and independence.

—Alfred McClung Lee

Of Living—and Dying—in Our Times

The Living of These Days, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. 324 pp. Harper, 1956. $4.

Indomitable Friend, by William R. Hughes. 236 pp. London: Allen & Unwin, 1956. 12s 6d.

Agatha Harrison, by Irene Harrison. 156 pp. London: Allen & Unwin, 1956. 12s 6d.

Dying We Live, ed. by Helmut Gollwitzer, Reinhold Schneider & Kathe Kuhn. 285 pp. Pantheon, 1956. $4.50.

RIVERSIDE CHURCH will always be associated with the name of its Pastor Emeritus, Harry Emerson Fosdick. To the thousands with grateful experience of Dr. Fosdick's liberal ministry or familiar with his radio preaching, the publication of his memoirs is a major event.

Across the years Dr. Fosdick looks back with humor and unsentimental tenderness to boyhood in upstate New York in a close-knit, religious-minded family. He sees a boy differing from his "gang" in but one particular—preoccupation with religion. Troubled by the hell-fire preaching of churches and "hot gospelers," the seven-year-old insisted on being immersed in the Westfield Baptist Church, so small special arrangements had to be made for him.

We follow young Fosdick through Colgate College, where questioning of the Bible as literal history and science led to a sophomoric attempt "to cast God out of the universe." Happily, guided by Colgate's liberals, he was presently discovering that one could preserve the eternally true spiritual values even in "the new mental categories." After his ordination as a Baptist minister, he was appointed assistant at New York's Madison Avenue Baptist Church, though even then some doubt was raised as to his orthodoxy. Followed eleven fruitful years as pastor in Montclair, N. J., though such practices as inviting non-Baptist Christians to communion could not pass unnoticed. His fame as a brilliant and inspiring preacher was now rapidly spreading.

Meantime the theological diehards had been alerted. Fosdick was serving as guest preacher at New York's Old First Presbyterian (the Baptist label prevented his acting as assistant minister) when the storm broke with his famous sermon, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" Many who recall the Fundamentalist controversy of the '20s may have forgotten its bitterness. Presbyterians—William Jennings Bryan leading—denounced the man who could not subscribe to the Bible's inerrancy, or the doctrines demanded by their General Assembly, as "the foreigner within our gates," while John Roach Stratton voiced the Baptist complaint against "the bootlegger and Jesse James of the theological world!" Nor did religious radicals lag behind. Fosdick was betraying their common cause in not abandoning the evangelical church altogether.

Significant chapters detail the struggle to keep Fosdick at the Old First, with final defeat by the New York Presbytery and loss of him to the Park Avenue Baptist Church known as "Rockefeller's," though Fosdick came completely on his own terms. The whole association would in time produce today's Riverside Church with its manifold social services, and love of God

and neighbor as sole creedal requirement.

The author tells of satisfying work at Union and of the many causes he has espoused. But dearest to his heart has been his counseling of the mentally troubled and despairing. Repudiating his support of the First World War, he writes that he wishes to be counted with the pacifists, who, though often "wrong-headed," are so "in the right direction." But one regrets his misconception of absolute pacifism as narrowly soul-saving. A book of exceptional interest.

"There was something Alpine in Corder's character." William R. Hughes writes movingly of his fellow-Britisher and Quaker colleague. Loving the Alps from youth, Catchpool's passion for glittering passes grew until, whenever a holiday offered, he chose for inspiration to pit his strength against towering rock and crashing ice. That one always scaling impossible heights should have met his end on a mountaintop seems fitting. It was on the slopes of Monte Rosa in 1952 that Gwen Catchpool, beloved wife and sharer of so many reconciling missions, witnessed her husband's fatal fall.

The First World War found young Catchpool an engineer and welfare worker to the mill people of Darwen, England. Hating war but sensitive to all suffering, he trained for ambulance work and with the Friends' Unit saw the fierce fighting in France and Belgium. Convinced at length that he was patching men up to return to the slaughter, he hurried back to England to take his stand as an absolute CO and spend two and a quarter years in prison, suffering in body and spirit, but preparing for the reconciling work with the "enemy" that was to be paramount in his life.

Going to Germany at the war's close, the Catchpools, newly married, took an active part in extending friendship and spiritual comfort to a desperate, defeated people. Back in Darwen with their young family, their modest home was a center of international influence, open especially to German young people. In 1931 British and American Quakers sent Catchpool again to Germany to serve as peacemaker in face of mounting tension. Aiding Jewish and German victims of Hitler's police state, and twice suffering brief arrests, he persisted in his Quaker conviction that there is "that of God in every man," even a Gestapo official, and somehow kept the channels open.

As war again loomed, Catchpool undertook numerous missions on the Continent to avert hostilities. He accompanied George Lansbury on his last heroic appeal to Hitler. After war broke, besides aiding suffering fellow-countrymen, he never ceased to lift his voice for negotiation, and when it ended, for forgiveness and reconciliation.

Douglas Steere has said of him, "I never knew a man who trusted his fellows with the completeness that Corder did. It was counted a fault in him by many, and he was regarded as naive and politically immature. But under it all, there was a kind of wisdom which is not of this world. . . ."

Agatha Harrison once remarked wistfully that she hoped some day to have time to re-read her letters home and possibly make a book of them. One is grateful that her sister lets us now glimpse them in their freshness and sensitivity. They make up the portrait of another

indefatigable reconciler, another with genius for friendship.

When Mrs. Pandit at the General Assembly learned of Agatha Harrison's heart attack in Geneva where she and Quaker colleagues were attending the 1954 Asian Conference as peacemakers, she wrote Agatha's family, "For her friends—and they are scattered all over the globe—the world has become suddenly a very empty place." A nature so warm and generous could but attract people of every sort, from the adoring factory girls for whose bettered conditions she labored as a young woman, to the tough-minded industrialists and stiff-necked officials whom she met through the years with such tireless goodwill —yet without shadow of compromise—as to leave both sides with hope of possible understanding.

The first international work came in the 1920s when British and American YMCAs borrowed Miss Harrison from the London School of Economics to investigate the shocking labor conditions of women and very young children in the cotton and silk mills of China and Hong Kong, many British-owned. A Child Labor Commission was the result of this work.

But Agatha Harrison will be longest remembered for her unique efforts in the crucial years before Indian Independence when, commissioned by no less than Gandhi himself, she acted as would-be reconciler between Congress members and British officials who refused to treat with them. Donning an evening gown in place of the rough costume in which she liked to walk at "Bapu's" side, she would meet former colleagues of the Royal Labor Commission, or dine in state with the Viceroy, and by the force of her persuasive personality induce them to hear India's claims. In all she made six extensive visits to India, and was valued by Nehru and his associates, and by the best minds of England.

Work for peace among United Nations delegates in New York is to be added to Agatha Harrison's services to mankind. Her sister recalls her writing on the eve of one of her many journeys, "If—as is most unlikely—I should not 'come back,' don't let people be 'black-edged' about me. . . . I've had a glorious life—even if it has been strenuous. And if I had to choose all over again—I would want it to be as it has been. . . ."

"A priceless cup . . . pressed from the good grapes that ripen in the innermost places of man's being, in vineyards that are holy and hushed." George N. Shuster in his introduction to *Dying We Live*, writes thus poignantly of these last messages—fame written with manacled hands—of the heroic men and women who sat in Nazi prison cells awaiting execution.

Here were Lutheran pastors, Roman Catholic priests and nuns. Some of the writers were young, like the Munich University students, others old like the Rector of St. Hedwig's Cathedral, who had defended the Jews and who declared he still had "twenty more years of courage" if God had need of it. Some bore aristocratic names, representing "the old Germany." Some were political figures who, having opposed Hitler's rise to power, continued to denounce his tyranny. A few, believing they acted for the Fatherland, had taken part in the abortive July '44 plot. Many more were innocent suspects.

Intellectuals, poets, a musician were numbered among the prisoners. But also plain ordinary people who in conscience had had to stand up against abomination.

Illimitable courage, utter lack of bitterness, almost unbelievable calm in the face of cruel death upheld these willing, even joyous, martyrs, their only regret for parents, wives, children, and other loved ones, to whom they sent tenderest messages, asking forgiveness for the pain they must inflict. They begged them to be comforted by the world's beauty and God's goodness, to believe in a redeemed Germany to come.

Some lived in the letters and books they were permitted to read. Others must do with memories only, of beautiful scenes, of music heard, of love recalled. They rejoiced in a tree glimpsed from a cell window. They set down verses. One takes pleasure in the delicate tracery of a laurel leaf dropped in his soup.

Beyond all is the glowing religious faith that illumines these impressive pages. "God's children journey inviolable, garbed in light —even to Dachau," writes an Evangelical pastor. In their agony these men and women have come close to God, and now look forward to union with Him as to a joyous "homecoming." Death to them is the beginning of Life, gateway to a blessed eternity. A priest calls torturing manacles his "shining chains," his "ornament." And so his Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis.

To read this book is a profound spiritual experience. It testifies to the inexhaustible potentialities of the human spirit confronted by the supreme test of loyalty to Christ.

—Frances Witherspoon

WHEN YOU MOVE

If you are expecting to change your address, please help us to keep your FELLOWSHIP subscription on schedule by giving us at least one month's notice and reporting both your old and new addresses.

A Short Vision. 16 mm., color, sound, 7 minutes. Distributed by Brandon Films, New York.

Films are a great educational medium, aren't they? Television too, huh? If only we could get the message of peace on films, and on television. . . .

A Short Vision is a peace film, I guess. Certainly it's anti-war. In quite striking drawings, narration and music it represents another effective warning that there is no coexistence possible between a moderately tolerable future and the H-bomb.

So what happens? The distributor advertises it as especially valuable for armed forces recruiting meetings, civil defense meetings, etc. And Ed Sullivan, television's highly successful wooden Indian, hardly let the film finish on his show before introducing, to great audience applause, his special guests for the evening—a group of Navy combat flyers!

The moral is: Don't assume that *A Short Vision* carries its own built-in message. Have a good discussion leader handy. Or, better still, use it as a filler between, or before longer films. —A. H.

Expedient Good vs. God's Will

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Most of the recent FOR emphasis has been on brotherhood. Until the Negro-white tension, it was primarily related to pacifism. This is good . . . in fact, urgent. I have a concern about the approach and motivation for this which I feel I must share.

Not only in FELLOWSHIP, but from the pulpit and other areas where one would expect to hear a message of bare, unapologetic truth, I listen to men proclaim brotherhood to be "practical" and "expedient." This may or may not be true. (I believe it is. My mind is such that I must believe that God's will is practical and livable.) Regardless of the truth of this statement, is it the question? If we do good because it is practical or expedient, we no longer worship God, but self.

It is true that brotherhood is the will of God. It is true that men can live in a world peacefully only by living in accord with these principles. It is true that, in order to survive, the world must recognize that men must live in fairness and justice. The truth of these statements is beyond dispute. Men who will not abide by the ethic of brotherhood will today admit the necessity of this being the world-wide code. Even a child can tell that, when in our command there are bombs sufficient to end all life, there must be harmony among men. Peace in such times seems clearly to be practical . . . as well as the will of God. It *should* seem so. It is.

The problem comes in *why* we do these things . . . things which are necessary from a human point of view, and Christian from a religious outlook. The world has many gods today. The Lord is not the only God, or even the uppermost. This is true among most "Christians." When we try to achieve brotherhood because it is practical, we set up ourselves as God. We try to show that we must do this to save ourselves. The fact that it is the will of God is a handy and contributing side issue. The motivating factor is that we want to save ourselves, and this is the only way.

Such motivation for brotherhood is not Christian. The Christian does the thing which is God's will, without regard to the results. It will often be the thing which appears to be practical, but again it does not always seem practical to do God's will. In such cases, what is the reaction of us who have done His will because it *was* practical? The motivation for our emphasis on brotherhood needs to be the love of God which moves us to unquestioning obedience. If it is also practical, fine. If not, also fine.

True brotherhood cannot come from a desire to prove practical a bloodless method of self-preservation. The current fad in most of America tends to be brotherhood—because we grudgingly fear that we must let others live too, if *we* shall survive! Let us not bow to false gods. We believe in brotherhood not because it is the only way we can save our world, our nation, and ourselves, but because it is God's will. We cannot deny fear of the powerful weapons we have

produced. We realize the weakness we display to Communism with our racial outbursts. Moreover, we know we must use these situations and our reactions to them to help show us how far we have strayed from God. But let us not think for a moment that we have solved the problem if, because of fear, we appear to follow brotherhood . . . and do it only to save our lives.

Lasting brotherhood cannot be legislated. It will not come because men believe it is practical, and thus follow it. Brotherhood will come to men and among men when the motivation for it becomes a deep hunger to do God's will, And, regardless of the practicality of the situation, the motivation for each act of a Christian is that this is the will of God.

LAUREE HERSCH
North Manchester, Indiana

Correction Please

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was very sorry to see the little item in the December "FELLOWSHIP" on page 25, "In the Churches," regarding "United Lutherans Balk on Segregation Ban." Undoubtedly this item was gleaned from the public press, which did a good job of misinterpreting the Church's actions and of reporting only the first actions and not the final results.

I was a delegate to the convention at Harrisburg, but, unlike the reporters, stayed until the end of the meeting and the voting. The vote you reported was the first vote on an amendment to eliminate the Supreme Court reference. After that amendment we went on to put back the reference to the Court in a slightly different form as follows:

"The ULCA, recognizing its deep involment in the moral crisis confronting the USA in the current controversy over desegregation occasioned by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, affirms the "Statement on Human Relations" adopted by the Executive Board of the ULCA and the Board of Social Missions (April, 1951) and calls upon all its congregations and people. . . ." (Complete text available if you wish)

This change was not necessarily to indicate a belief that the Court's decision was not in harmony with Christian convictions, but was to point out that we were affirming a statement of our Boards made three years before the Court's decision, and that this statement was one of the basic principles far broader than a single court decision.

After a few additional minor amendments the entire "Statement on Desegregation" was overwhelmingly approved. I am certain that the delegates and others then present did not think that the convention failed to back desegregation.

It is unfortunate that the public press is so often careless of the whole truth but is rather after the sensational in its reporting. For this reason I hope you will find room to print this more complete story on our action at Harrisburg. Churches have not been in the forefront in some of these matters, but let's not push them back any further than they are, especially when there are signs of great progress.

MARTIN A. GILMAN
Lexington, Mass.

Anti-Bias Drive Needed

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

After visiting the southeastern United States, I am convinced that an all-out effort to combat racial discrimination is needed. This is not a regional problem, but a national one. Southern racists point to instances of discrimination in the rest of the country to justify their resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions.

It is certainly true that many of us

cannot be proud of the record in our own communities. We need to go out of our way to promote integration, at the cost of a great deal of inconvenience to ourselves. Passive tolerance is not enough. This is the time to participate actively in the work of integration.

If a special nationwide campaign for integration were started, people could signify their resolve to try to make interracial the groups to which they belong, such as churches, clubs, and schools. They could also refuse to sign restrictive covenants when buying houses, try to avoid restricted restaurants and other places of business unless they went there in mixed groups, and try to make friends with members of minority groups.

Don't you agree that the FOR would be a logical source for such a campaign?

BERENICE E. COAN
Los Angeles, California

Spreading the Word

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Just want you to know that after my husband and I read FELLOWSHIP, I mail each copy to someone likely to be interested. Right now I am sending them to members of a human relations group. Although we have no money (on pension), we like to feel we are doing a bit. If someone nearby is interested in forming an FOR group, we live at 7 Sylvan Place and our phone is NU 2-4864.

(MRS.) F. W. BARTEL
Nutley, N. J.

Book Review

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I would like to recommend a book to your readers—*The Canyon* by Jack Schaefer. It is about a Cheyenne Indian tribe back in the days before the advent of the white man. The story tells of the struggles of a nonconformist—a young member of the tribe who will not go on the war parties—to understand his own motives and to find a way of life which will allow them expression and permit him to retain his integrity. The author has done this with conviction, simplicity, and sensitivity. This is far from being a hack "Red Indian" tale. Mr. Schaefer appears to have considerable grasp of his subject and a very sympathetic understanding of it. It reads with almost the quality of a folk tale.

This is not a "pacifist book." It is the sort of book which will be read by many who would not dream of reading an avowedly pacifist book. But imaginative, responsive readers will be touched by profound ideas, basic not only to an understanding of pacifism but, more important, to an understanding of the concept of the worth of individual conscience. And those who are already "convinced" will find here much food for thought concerning the problems of reconciling—or not reconciling—individual conscience with group patterns. It is, besides, a good and enjoyable book on its own merits, beautifully written and often moving and, I would say, rather a unique one.

CAROLYN MALLISON
Herkimer, N. Y.

What Price Peace?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

You know I'm a so-called Pacifist, I like to go along with you in work toward peace, but you also know my dilemma. Just to be sure you know which one I mean let me explain:

I know that Uncle Sam does not subsidize your work, but rather he asks you to help him keep on making better bombs. And he also asks me to help, and all the rest of us pacifists, and we can't

help it any way we try. However, we have some choice left to us, and as I see it, it's this way: I work hard and make a lot of money so I can send you a nice big check, and then in turn Uncle lets me deduct that from my income (up to 20%) and in that he's considerate, recognizes your good work, fine. But then Uncle makes sure he gets his share to make those jets and bombs just in case you don't keep peace, so I'm spending more for war than for peace! Or then I reduce my income to just barely have an excess over the exemptions for my wife and myself and can squeeze a little to help you lick a few postage stamps, but feel easier about those jets that whiz overhead in that I'm not quite so responsible for their making and flying; but then how will you keep the peace on those pence if all of us did this way? Or maybe we'd better just live on a subsistence income, and have no income tax to pay, and curtail our buying to the minimum, avoiding all tax possible, raise most of our food, have no car, etc., and then of course you'd be out of my budget —how's that? Who will keep the peace in that case? ? ?

So what policy is the *most* consistent? —anyway one just can't be 100% consistent. I expect you'll say number one, but then we are both in the bomb-making business and talking about peace without bombs! Rather senseless, but it makes the dollars go round, U.S. standard! I'd like your advice, and from others too. Should we all be tax avoiders, or keep on being dualists?

—Samuel Cooper
Moorestown, N. J.

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BOOK WANTED

If you have an extra copy of NOT BY MIGHT by A. J. Muste, now out of print, please send to: Swarthmore College Peace Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

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Midwest: Paul G. Macy, 823 Forest Ave., Evanston, Ill.; *Pacific Coast:* Wilson Riles, 820 So. St. Andrews Pl., Los Angeles, Calif.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, Box 87, Cheyney, Penna.; *New England:* Robert Gussner, 10 Kirkland Rd., Cambridge, Mass.; *Mid-South:* Robert Cannon, Apt. 28, 2123 Garland Ave., Nashville, Tenn.; *Great Lakes:* Ellamae Calvert, 1555 Elbur, Lakewood 7, Ohio; *National Field Secretary:* Glenn E. Smiley, FOR, Nyack, N. Y.

LEWIS CARROLL, eminent authority on Jabberwocks, Jub-Jub Birds and other such slithy fauna, was among the first to spot the danger. "Beware the Jub-Jub Bird," he wrote, "and shun the frumious Bandersnatch."

Despite this sage advice, however, the Bandersnatch is now upon us more than ever. Preening himself in his fine olive drab plumage and putting on an air of benignity, he says: "I'll keep peace in the world if only you'll feed me more weapons, especially those succulent H-bombs."

The Bandersnatch feeds also on more tasty provender —hearty soldiers, succulent civilians of every shape and size. And although he has not been treated to a real banquet since 1945, he has managed to subsist for a dozen years on a whole series of snacks—Korea, Israel, Egypt and many more.

The beast sits on top of the world playing with his multi-billion-dollar expense account, his shadow falling on all of us. Depending on where you sit, it may look like a dark mushroom cloud or merely a dull haze. Occasionally, a saber-rattling sound is heard: that is the sound of the Bandersnatch in search of prey.

Ordinarily the Fellowship of Reconciliation is against killing, but this is one bird we're out to slay. Our vorpal blade is the testimony of pacifism, and the arm with which we wield it is only as strong as the convictions and size of our membership. If you are against Bandersnatches (or in one syllable, War), we invite you to join in the hunt. For a more literal presentation of what it means to be a member of the Fellowship, write for a copy of the Statement of Purpose: "That Men May Live."

LOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION FOR Nyack, New York

FELLOWSHIP
and Human Rights in America
WHAT PEACE REALLY MEANS
an outline of the pacifist message for the modern world
THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

SPREAD THE WORD

Is your pacifism contagious? It had better b if it is to have the effects that the world and i people so badly need. Most of us, howeve subject as we are to the limits of the 24-hou day and the rigors of daily life, just can't c the necessary personal job of spreading th word of pacifism. But fortunately all is not los

The deucedly clever folks at Fellowship Publ cations have had their ears to the ground, the nose at the grindstone and their fingers on th typewriter and drawing board. From these con tortions have come a steady stream of pacifi literature. All you have to do is pop one o these handy folders into an envelope togethe with a personal note to a friend, and, lo!—th word is being spread.

Two of the latest such folders are shown o this page. *Fellowship and Human Rights i America* points up the relevance of nonviolenc in the current crisis in race relations and accents the role that FELLOWSHIP has performed over the years. *What Peace Really Means* gives thumbnail sketch of the issues of war and peace and the wider implica tions of the pacifist message. A third folder, *How to Practice Nonviolenc* will soon be off the press. It is a vest-pocket guide to the use of non violent technique in group action and in personal conduct. All are fre in limited numbers. (Even in the large quantities in which we print them however, these folders cost 2¢ each or more to produce. We have to ge that money back from *somewhere,* so if you can send in enough to pa for their cost, or for part of it, the money will be welcomed. For order of more than 25 copies, we must charge 2¢ each.)

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